

SENATORS AND OFFICERS POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE OF TRAVEL EXPENSES

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2019 JUN 10 AM 11:30

This disclosure, along with a copy of the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form and all attachments, MUST be provided to the Office of Public Records, Room 232 of the Hart Building, within 30 days after the travel is completed.

In compliance with Rule 35.2(a) and (c), I Sen. Tom Carper, make the following
(Name of Senator/Officer)

disclosures with respect to travel expenses that have been or will be reimbursed/paid for me.

Private Sponsor(s) (list all): The Aspen Institute Inc. (Congressional Program)

Travel date(s): May 27, 2019 - June 2, 2019

Destination(s): Prague, Czech Republic

Name of accompanying family member (if any): Mrs. Martha Carper

Relationship to Member/Officer: ☒ Spouse ☐ Child

FILL IN THE APPROPRIATE LINES. IF THE COST OF LODGING DID NOT INCREASE DUE TO THE ACCOMPANYING SPOUSE OR DEPENDENT CHILD, ONLY INCLUDE LODGING COSTS IN EMPLOYEE EXPENSES. (Attach additional pages if necessary.)

Expenses for Senator/Officer:

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses (Amount & Description)
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimate	\$6825 for the senator	\$1200 for the senator	\$605 for the senator	\$362 for meeting room expenses for the senator
<input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amount				

Expenses for Accompanying Spouse or Dependent Child (if applicable)

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses (Amount & Description)
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimate	\$6825 for spouse	\$0 for spouse	\$605 for the spouse	\$362 for meeting room expenses for spouse
<input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amount				

Provide a description of all meetings and events attended. See Senate Rule 35.2(c)(6). (Attach additional pages if necessary.): See attached agenda

I HAVE MADE A DETERMINATION THAT THE TRAVEL DESCRIBED ABOVE WAS IN CONNECTION WITH MY DUTIES AS AN OFFICEHOLDER, AND DID NOT CREATE THE APPEARANCE THAT I WAS USING PUBLIC OFFICE FOR PRIVATE GAIN.

June 10, 2019

(Date)

Tom Carper

(Signature of Senator/Officer)

PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM

This form must be completed by any private entity offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to Senate Members, officers, or employees (Senate Rule 35, clause 2). Each sponsor of a fact-finding trip must sign the completed form. The trip sponsor(s) must provide a copy of the completed form to each invited Senate traveler, who will then forward it to the Ethics Committee with any other required materials. The trip sponsor(s) should **NOT** submit the form directly to the Ethics Committee. Please consult the accompanying instructions for more detailed definitions and other key information.

The Senate Member, officer, or employee **MUST** also provide a copy of this form, along with the appropriate travel authorization and reimbursement form, to the Office of Public Records (OPR), Room 232 of the Hart Building, within thirty (30) days after the travel is completed.

1. Sponsor(s) of the trip (please list all sponsors):
The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
2. Description of the trip: Exploring the issues and challenges for U.S. policy in Eurasia related to security, global competition between China and Russia, multilateral initiatives in Eurasia, and evolving cyber threats.
3. Dates of travel: May 27-June 2, 2019
4. Place of travel: Prague, Czech Republic
5. Name and title of Senate invitees: See attached appendix
6. I *certify* that the trip fits one of the following categories:
☒ (A) The sponsor(s) are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal **and** do not retain or employ registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal **and** no lobbyist or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *at any point* throughout the trip.
OR
☐ (B) The sponsor or sponsors are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, but retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and the trip meets the requirements of Senate Rule 35.2(a)(2)(A)(i) or (ii) (*see question 9*).
7. ☒ I *certify* that the trip will not be financed in any part by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal.
AND
☒ I *certify* that the sponsor or sponsors will not accept funds or in-kind contributions earmarked directly or indirectly for the purpose of financing this specific trip from a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal or from a private entity that retains or employs one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal.
8. I *certify* that:
☒ The trip will not in any part be planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except for *de minimis* lobbyist involvement.
AND
☒ The traveler will not be accompanied on the trip by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except as provided for by Committee regulations relating to lobbyist accompaniment (*see question 9*).

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☐ (A) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and one overnight stay) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *on any segment* of the trip.

☐ (B) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and two overnight stays) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *on any segment* of the trip (see questions 6 and 10).

☐ (C) The trip is being sponsored only by an organization or organizations designated under § 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *at any point* throughout the trip.

If the trip includes two overnight stays, please explain why the second night is practically required for Senate invitees to participate in the travel:

11. ☒ An itinerary for the trip is attached to this form. I *certify* that the attached itinerary is a detailed (hour-by-hour), complete, and final itinerary for the trip.

The Aspen Institute Congressional Program (AICP) is the sole sponsor of this conference and developed the agenda, organized the travel, planned the conference, and invited the participants.

The Aspen Institute is a non-profit organization, and its broad mission is conducting nonpartisan forums and the exchange of ideas on issues impacting the U.S. and the world. AICP's conference "U.S. Policy Toward Eurasia and the Role of the U.S. Congress" intends to examine the policy challenges the U.S. faces regarding Eurasia. See attached appendix

On occasion, other policy programs of The Aspen Institute, Inc., sponsor conferences that involve members of Congress.

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for congressional staff members, with each event offering a leading scholar on a key domestic or international issue.

Total Expenses for Each Participant:

State whether a) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation or b) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *specifically with regard* to congressional participation:

Reason for selecting the location of the event or trip

Prague enables scholars from Eurasia to participate in the conference sessions and allows for a meeting with the Czech Republic Deputy Prime Minister.

Alcron Hotel Prague

This hotel offers the required private meeting space, conference technology and security is a key factor.

- Lodging and meals are below published per diem rates.

Roundtrip business class flight on a commercial airline carrier and coach ground transportation from/to Prague airport

- None

- E-mail Address: lisa.jones@aspeninst.org

Appendix

Question 5: Name and title of Senate invitees:

Sen. Tom Carper and Mrs. Carper; Sen. Tom Udall and Mrs. Udall; Sen. Josh Hawley and Mrs. Hawley;

Question 12: Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting this trip:

The Aspen Institute Inc. (Congressional Program)

Aspen Institute is the sole sponsor of this conference on “U.S. Policy Toward Eurasia and the Role of the U.S. Congress.” The organization has received general support and unrestricted funds from The Carnegie Corporation of New York foundation, Henry Luce Foundation, Democracy Fund foundation, and Rockefeller Brothers Fund foundation. These foundation funds were not earmarked for a specific trip.

Question 13: Briefly describe the stated mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission:

The AICP’s conference in Prague is for members of Congress to take an in-depth look and to focus on federal policy issues related to Eurasia including the geopolitics and power dynamics, the interests of China and Russia and their influence in the region, and U.S. strategies in the region.

Question 15: Briefly describe the educational activities performed by each sponsor (other than sponsoring congressional trips):

The Aspen Institute holds numerous educational activities, including conferences, roundtables, briefings and other nonpartisan forums on critical issues facing the U.S. and the world.

Question 16: Breakdown of transportation expenses

Sen. Carper: Air travel roundtrip - \$6625; ground transportation from/to airport: \$200

Mrs. Carper: Air travel roundtrip - \$6625; ground transportation from/to airport: \$200

Eurasia covers one third of the Earth's surface and is home to over five billion people—it is what British geographer Halford Mackinder once called "the world island." The bulk of this landmass is controlled by China and Russia, with whom the U.S. has been in competition and confrontation across different arenas and at different scales over the past decade. The two are both major powers and near peer competitors to the United States, and are increasingly aligned in their foreign, security and even development policies and programs, potentially to the detriment of key U.S. interests. The annual threat assessment by the U.S. intelligence communities warns that China and Russia are more aligned now since the mid-1950s and that they are devoting resources into a "race for technological and military superiority."

- How significant and how durable is this alignment? Has Washington paid it adequate attention? What U.S. interests are at stake in the region?
- What is the state of the U.S.-led international order with respect to Eurasia?
- Do Moscow and Beijing evince a genuinely shared vision, or is their alignment principally about countering U.S. influence?
- How have U.S. allies and partners across Eurasia responded? What have been the key pillars of U.S. strategy toward the region over the recent past?

Thomas Graham, Managing Director, Kissinger Associates
Evan Feigenbaum, Vice President for Studies,
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace;
former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Central Asia
Matthew Rojansky, Director, The Kennan Institute,
The Wilson Center

11:00 AM – 11:15 AM	<i>Break</i>
11:15 AM – 1:00 PM	Roundtable Discussion Continues
1:00 PM – 2:00 PM <i>Working Lunch</i>	Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for U.S. policy regarding Eurasia.
2:30 PM – 4:00 PM <i>Individual Discussions</i>	Members of Congress and scholars meet individually to discuss U.S. foreign policy. Scholars available to meet individually with members of Congress for in-depth discussion of ideas raised in the morning and luncheon sessions include Thomas Graham, Evan Feigenbaum, and Matthew Rojansky.
6:30 PM – 9:00 PM <i>Working Dinner</i>	Scholars and members of Congress will explore topics covered in the conference. Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the key policy issues at stake in U.S.-relations with Eurasia and their importance.

THURSDAY, MAY 30

7:00 AM – 8:30 AM

Breakfast is Available

9:00 AM – 11:00 AM

Roundtable Discussion

CHINA'S INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES OF ITS BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE

The U.S. administration has accused China of expanding its economy, global political influence and military power at the expense of the U.S. and its allies. Under the mantle of its ambitious "Belt and Road Initiative," China has spent massively on building long-distance railway networks, communications, and energy infrastructure links connecting it to Eurasia, some of which have potential military applications. Freight rail service between China's east coast and European markets can now compete with shipping through the Straits of Malacca and the Suez Canal, while the opening of a Northern Sea route via the melting waterways of the Arctic ocean puts Russia-China maritime cooperation in the spotlight. Chinese President Xi Jinping visited many European capitals this Spring and secured a BRI agreement with Italy.

- How does Beijing see its position within Eurasia?
- Does Beijing harbor territorial ambitions, especially in Central Asia or Russia's Far East, parts of which were controlled by China in the past?

Do China's internal challenges with its restive Muslim populations limit its ability to project power and influence into Central and South Asia or the greater Middle East?

- How does China use the newly established Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank to advance its influence with developing countries in the Eurasian region?

*Philippe Le Corre, Senior Fellow, Mossavar-Rahmani
Center for Business & Government,
Harvard Kennedy School*

*Robert Daly, Director, The Kissinger Institute,
The Wilson Center*

11:00 AM

Break

11:15 AM – 1:00 PM

Roundtable Discussion

RUSSIA'S INTERESTS AND INFLUENCE IN THE REGION

The freezing out of Russia from Western-led global markets and diplomatic formats following its invasion of Ukraine has pushed Moscow to regard China more as a potential partner in its efforts

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not only to defend against U.S. pressure, but to develop its own economy and ensure domestic political stability and security. Russia remains the dominant security actor in Eurasia, supplying its former Soviet clients, China and other regional states with advanced military hardware, and leading major military exercises in all domains, recently with Chinese participation. Meanwhile cleavages within and between Europe and the United States have tested the traditional bonds of transatlantic solidarity.

- What does Moscow's assertion of its own "pivot to Asia" and a distinctive "Eurasian identity" actually mean?
- Do Russians think of Eurasia as something foreign, a "near abroad," or a "sphere of privileged influence?"
How will the Kremlin respond to continuing political, economic and demographic change along its borders, especially in the former Soviet republics of Central Asia, a region bordering Russia, China and Afghanistan?
- What is the significance of Russian-led international groups like the Eurasian Economic Union, the Collective Security Treaty Organization, and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization?
- How does U.S. policy regarding China take into account China's growing interests in Eurasia?

Dmitri Trenin, Director, Carnegie Moscow Center, Moscow

1:00 PM – 2:00 PM
Working Lunch

Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for U.S. policy regarding Eurasia.

2:30 PM – 4:00 PM
Individual Discussions

Members of Congress and scholars meet individually to discuss U.S. foreign policy. Scholars available to meet individually with members of Congress for in-depth discussion of ideas raised in the morning and luncheon sessions include Philippe Le Corre, Robert Daly, and Dmitri Trenin.

6:30 PM – 9:00 PM
Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Scholars will discuss with members of Congress their perspective on China's and Russia's interests in the context of U.S. relations with Eurasia.

FRIDAY, MAY 31

7:30 AM – 8:30 AM

Breakfast is Available

9:00 AM – 11:00 AM
Roundtable Discussion

U.S. STRATEGY, ALLIES, AND RESOURCES IN EURASIA

The Administration and Congress have responded to Russia's regional and global challenges with strong sanctions, expulsions of

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- Stacy Closson**, Adjunct Professional Lecturer,
School of International Service, American University;
and Global Fellow, Kennan Institute, The Wilson Center
Nikolas Gvosdev, Professor of National Security Affairs,
U.S. Naval War College

Break

Roundtable Discussion Continues

Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for U.S. policy regarding Eurasia.

Members of Congress and scholars meet individually to discuss U.S. foreign policy. Scholars available to meet individually with members of Congress for in-depth discussion of ideas raised in the morning and luncheon sessions include Stacy Closson and Nikolas Gvosdev.

6:30 PM – 9:00 PM
Working Dinner

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exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Scholars will discuss with members of Congress their perspective on the evolving threats from new technologies such as cyber, social media and information operations and their policy implications.

Saturday, June 1

7:00 AM – 8:30 AM

Breakfast is Available

9:00 AM – 11:00 AM
Roundtable Discussion

NEW TECHNOLOGIES AND EVOLVING THREATS: CYBER, SOCIAL MEDIA, AND INFORMATION OPERATIONS

The potential alignment between Chinese and Russian interests has security as well as economic implications for the U.S. beyond Eurasia, including the security of U.S. interests in cyberspace, domestic political processes, and the U.S. homeland itself. U.S. officials have confirmed that Russia and China are both major sponsors of cyber attacks, internet-based influence and radicalization campaigns, including election meddling, and the increasing use of artificial intelligence as a military tool against U.S. targets. As the Director of National Intelligence has said, “the warning lights are blinking red” about what is coming next--more interference, attacks, and near miss incidents, any of which could lead to dramatic escalation.

- How does each of the major Eurasian powers consider information and technology tools as part of its national security strategy?
- What lessons from addressing past threats and challenges can apply to these new threat vectors?
- How does the rapid improvement of artificial intelligence capabilities affect these challenges?
- How do difficulties with attribution affect the availability of deterrence as a response to Russian or Chinese cyber and information threats?
- Is there a risk of escalation from cyber to conventional or even nuclear conflict?
- Do the U.S. and its near peer rivals have common interests, for example, in countering online radicalization?
- Are common approaches feasible, such as a convention on limiting the means or methods of cyber conflict?

Ivana Karásková, Research Fellow, Association for International Affairs; Founder, Chinfluence, Prague
Emily Parker, Future Tense Fellow, New America Foundation

11:00 AM

Break

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11:15 AM – 1:00 PM <i>Policy Reflections</i> <i>(MEMBERS ONLY)</i>	Members of Congress will reflect on the previous discussions and offer their ideas for policy implications.
1:00 PM – 2:00 PM <i>Working Lunch</i>	Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for U.S. policy regarding Eurasia.
2:30 PM – 4:00 PM <i>Individual Discussions</i>	Members of Congress and scholars meet individually to discuss U.S. foreign policy. Scholars available to meet individually with members of Congress for in-depth discussion of ideas raised in the morning and luncheon sessions include Ivana Karásková and Emily Parker.
6:30 PM – 9:00 PM <i>Working Dinner</i>	Scholars and members of Congress will explore topics covered in the conference. Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Scholars and members of Congress will reflect on the discussions and analysis of the past four days to reach conclusions for the most appropriate policies for U.S. relations with Eurasia.

Resource Scholars:

Jiří Schneider, Executive Director, Aspen Institute Central Europe, Prague
Igor Zevelev, Professor of National Security Studies, George Marshall Center, Garmisch

SUNDAY, JUNE 2

Participants depart Prague mid-morning and arrive in the United States mid- to late afternoon

Sen. Tom Carper and Mrs. Carper depart Prague at 11:20 am on American Flight # 53 and arrive in Philadelphia at 2:50 pm.

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Dan Glickman

Executive Director

Congressional Program

February 11, 2019

The Honorable Thomas Carper
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Tom:

I would like to invite you and Martha to participate in a congressional conference on ***U.S. Policy toward Eurasia and the Role of the U.S. Congress***, May 27-June 2, 2019, in Prague, Czech Republic. We have limited space and must hear from you proactively as soon as possible if you wish to participate.

A rising China, an increasingly aggressive Russia, and a disintegrating Europe are rapidly reshaping the politics of Earth's largest landmass – changes which will impact over five billion people and have direct links to U.S. policy. Military tension, trade, competition for resources and energy, and technological dominance (cybersecurity and misuse of social media) are all major issues of key concern on our agenda. We have assembled a team of renowned U.S. and international analysts to review the best options for U.S. policy.

Attendance is by invitation only, with no outside observers, lobbyists, or congressional staff. Funding is provided solely by grants from established foundations—no government, individual, corporate or special interest funds are accepted.

Under guidelines established by the Senate Select Ethics Committee, we will provide you with a signed Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form affirming that no lobbyists fund this activity, that the Aspen Institute does hire or retain lobbyists, and that no lobbyists will be present. Our purpose is education, not advocacy.

This program is designed for Members of both the Senate and the House. Please note that because the House has adopted rules that preclude registered lobbyists from attending our events, if your accompanying spouse or family member is a registered lobbyist, the rules would bar their participation.

Departure will be on Monday, May 27th and we will return on Sunday, June 2nd. Should you accept the invitation, it is required that you participate through the duration of the conference.

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2300 N St., NW

Suite 700

Washington, DC 20037

PH 202.736.5825

FX 202.785-2737

www.aspeninstitute.org

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Travel expenses, including airfare, meals, lodging, and meeting facilities will be paid by the Aspen Institute Congressional Program. Under the ethics rules, no expenses are covered for entertainment or recreation. Congressional participants are limited to only one accompanying family member.

The Aspen Institute, an independent, nonprofit organization founded in 1950, provides a nonpartisan, neutral forum for leaders to discuss critical issues. The Institute's Congressional Program is designed to promote leadership on selected public policy issues in the Congress by bringing legislators together with internationally-recognized scholars and analysts in high-level discussion. Since the program's inception, over 450 Members of Congress have participated in the 137 conferences we have conducted.

Additionally, we hold breakfast meetings in the Capitol throughout the year to keep Members of Congress up-to-date between our annual conferences. We hope you will be able to participate in the extended educational offerings of our breakfast series.

If you have any questions, please feel free to call me at 202-736-5825.

We hope you will join us for this important conference.

Sincerely,



Dan Glickman
Executive Director
Aspen Institute Congressional Program

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